HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN HUNTING AND WAR

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Art of War Scholars

by

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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN HUNTING AND WAR, by Maj Margaret Alexis Wright Piet, 92 pages.

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ACRONYMS

AMNLAE	Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women
DoD	Department of Defense
FMLN	Farabundo Mari Front for National Liberation
FSLN	Sandinista National Liberation Front
UN	United Nations

ILLUSTRATIONS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> He [Socrates] certainly thinks that the women ought to share in the education of the guardians, and to fight by their side.
>
> — Plato, *The Republic*

The recent U.S. policy change of opening combat arms to women is the final step in the complete integration of women into the U.S) military. As has been the case with the inclusion of women into other career fields within the armed forces, the integration of women into the combat arms has fueled extensive debate over female abilities, capabilities, and potential contributions to the battlefield. While this doctrinal change is new to the U.S. military, women are by no means new to combat. Anecdotally, there are stories of women excelling in combat situations in the current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. There are also numerous historical cases that can be looked at to inform the discussion about the capabilities women bring to combat.

This study examines three societies in which women contributed skills as warriors, from antiquity through the twentieth century. The first case study focuses on the Amazons, one of history's first and arguably most celebrated group of female warriors. These female warriors have fascinated people for centuries. Recent research has helped untangle myth from archeological facts about the broader Scythian culture, which inspired Greek myths about Amazons. The Scythians included many matriarchal tribes and much of what is known about them is directly attributable to the impression they left on the Greeks. It is from the Ancient Greeks that the term "Scythian" originates—a catch-all label for the nomadic tribesmen living north of the Black Sea. Recent

archeological evidence of the Scythian tribes verifies what was long thought to potentially be mythology about the Amazons. An example of such a myth is of Heracles's task to steal the Amazon Queen Hippolyte's war girdle (also known as a belt).[1]

The second case study is on Native American women of the Apache and Cherokee tribes. Not unlike the first example, specific elements of their environments allowed—and at times required—their participation in warfighting and hunting.[2] Apache and Cherokee women could choose to accompany their male relatives in battle, often earning a warrior title and inspiring those fighting around them. Both tribes raised male and female children similarly, expecting good equestrian and survival skills from an early age in order to protect the tribes.

The third case study is of the late twentieth century Central American guerrilla movements, where historical documentation indicates that as many as 30-40 percent of guerrilla forces were female.[3] By the late 1980s, after these popular movements had fought for over a decade, women filled many roles on the battlefield and in the guerrilla camps. Those individuals that distinguished themselves as strong guerrilla fighters, took up arms and fought, regardless of gender. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua and the later Farabundo Mari Front for National Liberation

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[1] Regina Pennington, ed., *Amazons to Fighter Pilots: A Biographical Dictionary of Military Women* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2003), 14-17.

[2] Beatrice Medicine, "Warrior Women-Sex Role Alternatives for Plains Indian Women," in *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*, ed. Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine (Lanham, MD: University Press of America. 1983), 267-280.

[3] Karen Kampwirth, *Women and Guerrilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, Cuba* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), Kindle 2.

(FMLN) in El Salvador maximized the use of resources by employing every individual available.

These examples highlight the challenges faced by these groups and the roles women took in their greater struggles. The evidence of their challenging existence is demonstrated by the battle scars on the remains of Scythian women excavated in modern-day Ukraine, the recorded warrior names of Native American women, or the experiences of female combat medics who still serve in El Salvador's health care system. In the case of Scythians and Native Americans, men and women had to work together to subsist and guerrilla fighters of both genders collaborated for their movement to progress. Survival is a powerful motivator to overcome traditional gender roles or biases. The wide difference among these cultures in both time and location allows for a more diverse body of information for consideration in this thesis.

By design, these examples span two continents, two and a half millennia, and three very distinct cultures. There are myriad examples of women participating in combat (such as gender-bending during the Civil War by posing as men), but these three demonstrate how women have been integrated and involved in warfighting throughout history. The Amazons, the Native Americans, and the guerillas were all, to some extent, engaged in warfare to ensure the survival of their tribes and their very way of life. These cultures are not reflective of the current state of the U.S. military. A relatively small number of U.S. service members are potentially required to fight for survival. The U.S. military's logistical and administrative personnel far outnumber combat arms positions.[4]

[4] John J. McGrath, The Long War Series Occasional Paper 23, *The Other End of the Spear: The Tooth-to-Tail Ratio (T3r) in Modern Military Operations* (Fort

There are men and women alike who provide a service to the military, yet are not asked to kill, hunt, or even live in an austere environment. Warfare has changed and along with it, combat arms requirements. The requirements of today's military are different than those of the past, and will continue to change well into the future. That women are needed for combat is not the thrust of this examination—the United States could draft a standing army of all men, with little if any reduction in capability.

Recent U.S. combat operations have seen some women excel under pressure and respond positively by fighting for their own and their unit's survival in combat. It follows that the inclusion of women into combat arms is merely the last step for equality in the military for a country that believes in the equal rights of both genders. Women's roles in the U.S. military have been evolving since the Revolutionary War. Initially limited to nursing and secretarial positions, their roles in the military have expanded slowly to take on more specialties and qualifications.[5] At every step in this progression, women have met expectations and done what was asked of them. The expansion of women's roles to include combat arms is the next logical step.

However, expecting immediate integration now may still not be realistic. In the Amazon and Native American cultures, training manifested in the lives that these people led starting as children. Chapter 2 examines the female Amazons who trained alongside their male counterparts from childhood until adolescence. Every child had the same access to weapons and horses, and lived in an austere environment where daily survival

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Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute), 47, accessed 17 March 2016, http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/cgsc/carl/download/csipubs/mcgrath_op23.pdf.

[5] MajGen Jeanne Holm, USAF (Ret.), *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution*, rev. ed. (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1992), xiv-xvi.

frequently required hunting. They were expected to develop hunting and warfighting skills over a lifetime to benefit the entire tribe. The same is true for the women warriors discussed in chapter 3, the Native Americans. Again, these conditions were more applicable to small groups of people where the strength of the entire tribe often hinged on the participation of all members. These are not the conditions of the U.S. military and cannot necessarily be applied directly to today's gender integration challenges. However, exploring the conditions that shaped female participation in hunting and warfighting in the past—long-term training, skills development, and opportunity to engage in these martial arts—can inform future policy.

To distill the major factors of these case studies down to specific characteristics, a common analytical framework will be applied to each one. Identifying the environmental, political, economic, and social factors will clarify the conditions around which women participated in hunting and warfighting. These aspects were described by Carol Cohen in *Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures* to better understand which people fought, suffered, survived and recovered in warfare. These four factors actualize the distribution of power along gender lines, and justifies the ideology—such as matriarchy or patriarchy—a culture embodies.[6]

Environmental factors include physical surroundings and the lifestyle determined by the setting. The Scythians' nomadic lifestyle on the harsh Eurasian Steppes is an environmental factor which required all members fully engage in the survival of the tribe. Whether male or female each had to be capable horseback riders, raiders, and hunters.

[6] Carol Cohn, ed., *Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures* (Malden, MA: John Wiley and Sons, 2013), 5.

Social factors are those created by the culture to include norms and values. The Apache's matriarchal tribal culture is one of the social conditions which led to certain women joining both war and hunting parties.[7] A political condition is established by the governing individual or body of a group. How power is distributed and influenced is determined by the political conditions, as in the 1980s Central American guerrilla movements. Mass mobilization by the FSLN and FMLN movements introduced the concept of gender equality in El Salvador and Nicaragua, however temporary. These overarching factors illuminate why women had an equal impetus to fight or hunt.

Cohen defines gender as a "structural power relation" in that it categorizes people into a specific system of power. It influences the resources a person can access and what activities are socially acceptable. Gender shapes individual identities and lives.[8] Each sample will examine how members of that society's gender were understood and represented. Additional consideration of whether or not these gender representations and roles were fluid or static will provide better context for how gender affected participation.

Information on the Amazons and early Native American tribes is limited because of their exclusive use of the oral history tradition. Finding a broad enough sample with detailed historical records is challenging, and will limit the ability to draw overarching conclusions. In order to mitigate this, as well as highlight the systemized inclusion of women in combat throughout history, three vastly different case studies from antiquity to the twentieth century were selected. This approach comes with its own set of challenges,

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[7] Kimberly Moore Buchanan, *Apache Women Warriors* (El Paso: University of Texas Western Press, 1986), 12.

[8] Cohn, 6.

as conditions, norms, and the interpretation of each have changed through time. Nevertheless, diverse examples and environments in which women fought will offer more evidence from which to draw conclusions.

In addition, potential political and gender biases of the historians must be taken into account. Those who recorded the actions of the individuals studied here determined what information is available on the women of these groups. These historians may have interjected their own feelings towards these groups, accepted perceptions of the time, or misunderstood due to cultural differences. The patriarchal Greeks, Euro-American settlers, and anti-communist government officials often reported from a male-dominated point of view and social system, where female contributions were frequently obscured if not completely ignored. Increasingly, modern scholars studied women's roles on the battlefield that were historically disregarded in a male-oriented narrative.[9] The writer's gender has potential to manifest itself in bias that affects the narrative and analysis of their work. For example, Native American history recorded by Anglo-American men reflected patriarchal, European values of the time. Women and their roles in Native American culture are frequently left unrecorded as unimportant parts of an inferior society.[10]

[9] Medicine, 276.

[10] Richard A. Sattler, "Women's Status Among the Muskogee and Cherokee" in *Women and Power in Native North America*, ed. Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 229.

As John Kiszely writes, "[r]eading of heroes who defied the odds but triumphed has sustained many soldiers in difficult situations and inspired them to feats of arms."[11] Military history is known to inspire military professionals. While the various histories of our respective services and branches serve as motivation, women facing a new hurdle will also seek examples within their gender. Military professionals working to break traditional gender roles can be encouraged by the examples of women who transcended them. Learning more about under-studied female roles will not only inspire but also inform leaders and units taking on the challenges presented by gender integration.

These instances demonstrate that women have been riding, raiding, and fighting alongside men for more than 2500 years. Gender integration in combat may seem groundbreaking for the U.S. military, but is hardly new or unique. This continued evolution of women fully integrated into the U.S. military includes periods of change and status quo.

Glossary

Combat Arms: Military Occupational Specialties that conduct direct ground combat: infantry, armor, and special forces.[12]

Female Engagement Teams: Team of trained female U.S. military members who augment male units to access areas and populations otherwise denied to male military members due to cultural considerations.[13]

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[11] John Kiszely, "The Relevance of History to the Military Profession: a British View," in *Past as Prologue: The Importance of History to the Military Profession,* ed. Williamson Murray and Richard Hart Sinnreich (England: University of Cambridge, 2006), 30.

[12] Cohn, 22.

Gender: Self-identification as male or female, a way of categorizing people and human activities "symbolically associate with masculinity or femininity."[14] Gender is magnified by the social construct of what one's society deems appropriate as well as grammatical categories (such as "his" or "hers"). Biological features are amplified by a social construct of "male" and "female" which can be more accurately defined along a continuum of male versus female.[15]

Hunting: Using skill and weapons to kill animals in order to secure a food supply.

Soldier: A member of the profession of arms, employed by a governing body to conduct "disciplined and socially sanctioned use of deadly force."[16]

Warfighting: the "disciplined and socially sanctioned use of deadly force by one group of people against another."[17] As it is predominately conducted by men, warfighting is "linked to norms of masculinity," where a "combatants' strength, toughness, courage, aggressiveness, and violence" determines success.[18]

Warrior: Frequently defined as a male role, a warrior is a skilled warfighter, potentially part of a warrior culture, where much of the society revolves around warfighting.

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[13] National Defense University Press, *Women on the Frontlines of Peace and Security* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2015), 132.

[14] Cohn, 3.

[15] Linda Grant De Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies: Women in War from Prehistory to the Present* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 2-4.

[16] Ibid., 9.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Cohn, 22.

Chronology of U.S. Department of Defense (DoD)
Gender Integration

Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948 (passed 12 June 1948): Allowed women to serve in the military services, but they could not constitute more than two percent of the force.[19]

Risk Rule DoD Policy (1988): Attempt to standardize the assignment of women to military units, primarily those at risk of direct combat or hostile fire, proven ineffective in the 1991 Desert Storm/Desert Shield (Gulf War).[20]

Combat Exclusion Policy (1994): Secretary of Defense Les Aspin rescinded the Risk Rule and established the Combat Exclusion Policy, set forth as:

> Service members are eligible to be assigned to all positions for which they are qualified, except that women shall be excluded from assignment to units below the brigade level whose primary mission is to engage in direct combat on the ground as defined below:
>
> Definition. Direct ground combat is engaging the enemy on the ground with individual or crew served weapons, while being exposed to hostile fire and to a high probability of direct physical contact with the hostile force's personnel. Direct ground combat takes place well forward on the battlefield while locating and closing with the enemy to defeat them by fire, maneuver, or shock effect.[21]

[19] Jeanne Holm, 119.

[20] Ibid., 433.

[21] U.S. Congress, House, Hearing Before the Military and Personnel Forces Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, 103rd Cong., 2nd sess., HASC No. 103-50, 6 October 1994 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1995), 67, accessed 24 March 2015, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.000023477094;view=1up;seq=71.

24 January 2013: Secretary of Defense Leon E. Panetta and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Martin Dempsey announced the rescission of the 1994 Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule.[22]

[22] Secretary of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Secretary of Defense, Memorandum, *Elimination of the 1994 Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule* (Washington, DC, 24 January 2013), accessed 24 March 2016, http://www.defense.gov/news/WISRJointMemo.pdf.

CHAPTER 2

THE AMAZONS: FIRST RECORDED FEMALE WARRIORS

> Not in strength are we inferior to men; the same our eyes, our limbs the same; one common light we see, one air we breathe; nor different is the food we eat. What then denied to us hath heaven on man bestowed? O let us hasten to the glorious war!
>
> — Penthesilea, quoted in Salmonson, *The Encyclopedia of Amazons*

The legendary Penthesilea, who co-ruled Amazonia (the Greek mythological name for Scythia) with her sister, was known for her wisdom, bravery, skills with weapons, and hunting prowess. She and her sister ruled after Amazonia's apogee, but in a time of peace for its people. According to legend, Penthesilea's spear mistakenly struck and killed her sister while they were on a hunting expedition together. Overcome with grief, Penthesilea volunteered to fight oppressive Greek invaders and defend Troy at the behest of the Queen and King of Troy. After leading a successful initial battle in the Trojan War, Penthesilea fought the Greek hero, Achilles, in a futile attempt to save Troy. These two warriors embodied youth and skill, and were considered worthy opponents. In some accounts, Penthesilea kills Achilles first, then Zeus brings him back to life. Ultimately, in most versions of the myth, Achilles kills Penthesilea, then realizes too late (after removing her helmet and discovering her identity) that he could have loved and married her.[23] While most people know of Achilles and his exploits, relatively few know Penthesilea's story. Since the tale of her exploits in Troy is captured largely in Greek myths, her role and her ability to fight Achilles may have been downplayed due in part to

[23] Jessica Amanda Salmonson, *The Encyclopedia of Amazons: Women Warriors from Antiquity to the Modern Era* (New York: Paragon House, 1991), 210-212.

Greek historian bias. Penthesilea's legend is one of many from antiquity that provide an important perspective on how women fought and hunted.

Figure 1. Penthesilea, Greeting a Seated King Prim in Her Quest to Defend Troy

Source: Dietrich von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1957), 100, Plate LLXII, 4.

The word "Amazon" conjures up a number of images of physically large and imposing warrior women, armed with bows and spears and clad in revealing clothing. But what is the truth to these ancient and modern myths? This chapter will examine Greek mythology and archeological evidence to find the economic, social, political, and environmental conditions that led to Amazon women participating in hunting and warfighting. Ancient Greeks used the term "Scythian" in a more fluid manner than it is used today, employing the moniker to describe the many tribes that moved in the area from the Black Sea to Mongolia. The Saka, Sauro-Sarmations, and Sarmations are

included in this sweeping term used to describe nomads roaming north of Greece.[24] Because the Greek record is more general in terms of the specific origins of the Amazons, evidence from all these sub-tribes is considered here.

The name Amazon has its root in the Greek term *Amazones antianeirai,* which can be translated as "a tribe of equals."[25] Amazons were not Greek, but nomadic Eurasian tribes that inhabited a geographically vague region north of the Black Sea that included modern day Romania and Ukraine. Scythians traveled as far east as modern day Mongolia. That the history of these varied peoples was captured in Greek writings indicates the Scythian tribes made a significant impact on the Ancient Greeks with whom they either fought or traded. The Scythian warrior women so riveted Greek imagination, that Greek art frequently depicted Scythian women engaged in battle.[26]

The Amazons are the first recorded female warfighters, and as such, lay a foundation for understanding the earliest examples of women in combat and hunting roles. The Greek perspective shaped the way the Amazons were viewed through history, but more recent research and archeological work has shed new light on the Amazons and allows for a better understanding of their role in history as the first recorded warrior women. Examining the Ancient Greek myths about the Amazons will illuminate facts about Scythian women warriors.

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[24] Adrienne Mayor, *The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), Kindle 34.

[25] Ibid., 22.

[26] Josine Blok, *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, vol. 120, *The Early Amazons: Modern and Ancient Perspectives On a Persistent Myth* (Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1995), 1.

The Ancient Greeks used myths to reinforce their own cultural norms, and as a form of instruction or explanation to average Greek citizens. Amazon myths were often used as a warning to Greek women to marry and devote themselves to domestic requirements. Because the Amazons were defeated at the end of every myth, the patriarchal Greek standard of behavior was upheld.[27] The Amazon motif was widely popular, appearing not only in stories, but frequently in Greek art. As Ancient Greeks learned more about the different tribes north of the Black Sea—so unlike their own culture—the tribes gained notoriety and heightened Greek fascination and interest as to how these nomadic people survived.[28]

The historian Hellanikos of Lesbos is attributed with one of the most prevalent misconceptions about this tribe. His flawed etymology, "a-mazos" or "a-mastos" resulted in "a-mazoon," meaning breastless.[29] It is this misconception, dating back to the fifth century B.C., which has been one of the more widely known "facts" about Amazons. Hellanikos claimed that Amazon women would cut off a breast so as to not impede their archery or spear throwing. However, Greek art from the same period dispels this misconception by not only painting Amazons with both breasts, but also using Scythian bows, which are held away from the body, where a woman's chest would not interfere with deployment of the weapon.[30] While there are indications that some archery

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[27] William Blake Tyrrell, *Amazons, a Study in Athenian Mythmaking* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), xiv-1.

[28] Mayor, *The Amazons,* 21.

[29] Blok, 22.

[30] Mayor, *The Amazons,* 84-87.

techniques require different posture for large-busted women, female chests are not shown to be prohibitive to archery participation in general.[31] This difference between the written history and the art work may be due to the Greek bias against these nomadic, equal women. It may indicate that some Greek historians such as Hellanikos believed that these women had to disfigure themselves, and become more masculine in appearance, in order to participate in fighting. This indicates how difficult it was for Greeks to comprehend female warrior's roles. The Greeks' strict gender roles limited women's abilities to pursue alternative roles, such as in hunting and warfighting.

Figure 2. Amazon Archer

Source: Adrienne Mayor, *The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), Kindle 211.

Another Greek myth, that of Amazons either man-hating or killing male children, has also been disproven through more recent archeological work. Findings indicate that

[31] Amanda Hess, "You Can Only Hope to Contain Them," *ESPN The Magazine*, 16 June 2013, accessed 29 January 2016, http://espn.go.com/espnw/news-commentary/article/9451835/female-athletes-biggest-opponents-their-own-breasts-espn-magazine.

gender relations among the nomadic tribes were cooperative and complementary. Excavation of Scythian burial sites discovered children of both genders alongside their mothers.[32] Dr. Jeannine Davis-Kimball, an archeologist who has done extensive excavation in the Eurasian steppes, has lived among the matriarchal tribes in the area today. Evidence of the matriarchal societies established thousands of years ago can be found in their modern-day nomadic descendants. These tribes have female leaders and still raise children of both genders to have similar hunting, riding, and archery skills.[33]

Additionally, stories written by Greek historians include tales of Amazon women taking male lovers, both Greek and other nomadic tribesmen. Greek culture assumed that only an overly feminine woman would be attracted to other women. Ancient Greeks expected the virile Amazons would desire equally strong and "manly" men. Plutarch wrote that the Amazons were "natural lovers of men."[34] This indicates that Scythian women had dual roles which did not exclude caring for family. They could both fight and care for a male partner and children.

The Ancient Greeks were so inspired and transfixed by empowered warrior women that the story of Greek heroes fighting legendary Amazons is found in many Greek epics and myths. The Ancient Greeks actually named the challenge when Greeks and Amazons fought "Amazonomachy."[35] A story of Hippolyte, Queen of the Amazons,

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[32] Mayor, *The Amazons*, 61-70; Jeannine Davis-Kimball, *Warrior Women* (New York: Warner Books, 2002), 54-61.

[33] Davis-Kimball, 30-49.

[34] Mayor, *The Amazons*, 129-133.

[35] Pennington, 14-17.

appears in the Greek epic, *The Library*, where Heracles' ninth labor was to steal her war girdle. Andromache, another famous Amazon warrior, was depicted in Greek art bravely fighting without a shield or helmet.[36] These stories captured by the Greeks revealed "tension in the social order and sources of conflict" in Greek culture.[37] No story better displayed the dichotomy between Greek and Scythian culture than that of Penthesilea, described in the introduction.

According to Classics scholar Josine Blok, Amazon heroics, such as Penthesilea's fight to save Troy, "underscore and destabilize the masculine heroic quality of the Greek heroes."[38] Achilles's fellow soldier, Thersites, dared to mock the emotion Achilles felt after killing such a brave and strong woman. Achilles reacts to the scorn by killing Thersites, reinforcing the message to Greeks that anything outside the norm (such as loving an enemy) should be suppressed or hidden. It also cautions Greeks against confusing male and female roles, as the concept of female warfighting is defeated by Greek misogyny.[39]

This evidence suggests that the Amazons' contemporaries were confused, shocked, and threatened by such gender equality. Greek myths and histories suggest that they did not understand or accept the role of women in the Scythian culture. The Ancient Greeks' myths regarding these women reflect this gender-biased thinking, illustrating that

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[36] Salmonson, 13-14, 118.

[37] Tyrrell, xiv.

[38] Dr. Josine Blok is a Professor in the Department of History and Art History at Universiteit Utrecht, The Netherlands. Universiteit Utrecht, "Prof Dr. Josine Block," accessed 23 Janurary 2016, http://www.uu.nl/staff/JHBlok.

[39] Blok, x.

the Greeks found the concept of matriarchy contemptable. While the myths capture what little is known about the Amazons, it is often in the ambiguous context of not necessarily highlighting Amazon culture, but instead juxtaposing it against that of the Greeks. As the Greek culture was male-dominant, highlighting the Amazons was done to validate the Greek way of life. In totality, these myths were often used "as a tool for thinking, explaining, and validating patriarchal customs, institutions, and values by postulating the absurdities and horrors of its opposite."[40] This was particularly true in the case of the Amazons, a culture and people foreign to the Greeks.

Recent archeological discoveries prove aspects of Herodotus's *History* originally thought to be myth were accurate accounts of Scythian women's abilities.[41] Herodotus' writings depict Amazons as being skilled with weapons such as spears and bows, and highly capable equestrians. Scythian tombs attributed to the tribe's warriors include female burial sites, and have been discovered surrounded with knives, arrowheads, and spears. Additionally, bones that have been conclusively shown to be female remains have extensive evidence of battle wounds, and display signs of wear due to a lifetime of horseback riding.[42] Similar artifacts and skeletal damage have also been found in the

[40] Tyrrell, 28.

[41] Davis-Kimball, 52.

[42] Adrienne Mayor, "Amazons: Warrior Women in Myth, Art, and History" (Lecture, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA, 22 November 2014), accessed 14 December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dD58YEj71Ow.

contemporary graves of the neighboring tribes of the Sauromatian-era (ca. 600 BCE-400 BCE).[43]

With the advent of DNA testing in the 1960s, some initial assumptions on gender of remains in Scythian burial sites have been proven wrong. Earlier archeology practices assumed any remains found buried alongside weapons were male. Thousands of Scythian burial sites initially thought to be of male warriors have been reexamined, and proven as female remains.[44] This scientific improvement in DNA methods confirms that Amazons originated from the Scythian tribe of antiquity and lived between the seventh and third centuries BC.[45] These archeological facts provide some insight on Scythian gender relations which determined the roles women filled.

Gender identity is considered a social construct determined by the society to which an individual belonged. Based on physical appearance and biological features, gender identity determined the dress, occupation, and mannerisms based on societal norms of that time and culture.[46] It follows that in traditional Scythian culture, gender-specific roles (childbirth) and tasking (breastfeeding) reinforced an individual's gender identity. Scythian gender identity is best distinguished by comparison to that of the Ancient Greeks, on which there are more written accounts and information. The Scythians had freedom to move between traditional male and female roles from a young age, as the two gender roles overlapped extensively. In contrast, Greek women were

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[43] Pennington, 17.

[44] Mayor, "Amazons: Warrior Women in Myth, Art, and History."

[45] Mayor, *The Amazons*, 17.

[46] De Pauw, 4, 10.

confronted with entrenched gender roles almost from birth. When described by the Greek historians, Amazons had an "otherness" outside of strict masculinity and femininity.[47] This less strict approach to gender roles, combined with their nomadic existence encouraged and required all Scythians participate in hunting and warfighting. Such participation for a Greek woman would not have been acceptable, nor was it necessary in Greek culture. Scythian women's participation in hunting and warfighting provided them with social status as equal with male that was unheard of in ancient Greek society. As opposed to Greek women, whose social status was subordinated to that of men, Scythian women could conduct what would be considered traditional gender roles such as raise children while also being considered as equals and even leaders in their society.[48]

Environmental and Economic Conditions

Scythians encompassed a diverse number of sub-tribes and are considered one of the first four Eurasian nomadic tribes to practice *transhumance*, defined as "following animals from pasture to pasture as required for feed and shelter."[49] As traders and pastoralists, Scythians required that every member of their tribe contribute to its survival. This strenuous lifestyle demanded that both male and female children be reared riding horseback, and developing exceptional hunting and warfighting archery skills.[50] Peaceful trading with the neighboring Greeks was not typical in antiquity, and frequent conflicts

[47] Blok, ix.

[48] Tyrrell, xiii.

[49] Davis-Kimball, 243-247.

[50] Ibid., 53, 112-118.

required every member of the much smaller and less organized Scythian tribes be prepared to fight in case of conflict, particularly with the Greek city-states. This resulted in women and children capable of either skirmishing with attacking tribes or when unable to fight, running quickly enough to avoid capture.[51]

Equestrian and archery skills leveled gender competition, as horseback riding made a woman as fast as a man, and bows allowed women to be lethal on the battlefield without needing to be as physically strong. These leveling skills fostered an environment where women could contribute similarly to survival. Additionally, male and female clothing was similar: pants and a tunic, appropriate for riding horseback and working outside. Both genders looking similar in dress assisted in blurring the differentiation between male and female members of the tribe.[52] Today's military uniforms, mobility, transportation, firepower, and technology could be considered modern day gender-norming equivalents.

The harsh nomadic existence required all members of the tribe be equally adept at survival. All members of the tribe had to keep pace when moving in pursuit of the food supply. Similar athletic conditioning for male and female members enabled the tribe to walk or ride horse back for long distances while carrying food, weapons, and belongings.[53] The Scythians frequently traveled from northern Greece past the Black and Caspian Seas towards Mongolia seeking trade and economic advantages. Extensive travel

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[51] Blok, 2.

[52] Mayor, "Amazons: Warrior Women in Myth, Art, and History."

[53] David Epstein, *The Sports Gene: Inside the Science of Extraordinary Athletic Performance* (New York: Penguin Group, 2013), 73.

required members of the tribe to be capable not only of undertaking these arduous journeys but also of self-defense along the way.[54]

The tribes arguably benefited from what is known as an "economy of force" approach. The expectation that all members of the tribe would participate in hunting, fighting, and defending the tribe allowed the Scythians to potentially double their strength. In hunting, this meant more individuals involved in tracking, killing, and bringing prey back to camp. Similarly, in warfighting this meant extra tactical resources and a larger overall fighting force. By embracing resources from both genders, Scythians increased their available power to influence the situation or enemy.

Political and Social Conditions

The political conditions of the society allowed Scythian women to assume leadership roles within the tribe, and lead warriors into battle. Queens Hippolyte, Melanippe, and Antiope were sisters written about extensively in Greek myths. They led the Amazon tribe in peace and war.[55] Females in leadership roles shaped Scythian society. Not only were these women likely to run daily operations in the tribe, but also determine where and when to go to war. There are many myths of these Amazon Queens leading in battle or defending their land against invading Greeks. The resulting gender equality of such leadership is exemplified in their burial sites, where women have similar artifacts and treatment as male leaders.

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[54] Mayor, *The Amazons,* 37.

[55] Salmonson, 10, 15, 180.

Throughout Greece's history of both inter-state and international warfare, the Amazons stand alone as the only female warriors that the Greeks were so impressed by as to capture their existence in the historical record. Greece had evolved into a more sedentary, urban society of city states, while the Scythians continued to live a nomadic lifestyle. Greek history indicates they did not hesitate to clash with their neighbors to the north. This strain required Scythians always to be prepared to go to war. It follows that Greeks were not the only people to threaten the Scythians, who were likely ready to fight any invading force and quell any inter-clan rivalry as well. This "warrior culture" influenced every aspect of Scythian culture including both genders. Because every member was equally invested and yoked with supporting the tribe, then twice the number of fighting-age adults would be available to support the mission.[56]

Conclusion

While archaeology has provided new information on these women, the first recorded female warriors leave a legacy shrouded in myth and perpetuated by fantasies, such as the modern American super hero, Wonder Woman. This legendary character was an Amazon princess, sent to the United States to fight for "peace, justice, and women's rights."[57] A closer examination of Amazon legend and the facts which are reinforced by archeological findings proves that women were valued contributors and warfighters in Scythian society. They fought, led, and survived in the steppe climate, known for being inhospitable and challenging. If the female sex and gender roles are not automatically

[56] Idea developed in a conversation with MAJ Amoreena York, U.S. Army.

[57] Jill Lepore, *The Secret History of Wonder Woman* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), xi.

equated with weakness, then every member of the tribe can contribute to the best of their ability in the areas where they most excel.

Specific aspects of their harsh environment, equal social structures, matriarchal politics, and gender-neutral economic system contributed directly to female Scythian participation in hunting and warfighting. Scythian women, immortalized in Greek literature and art as the Amazons, melded with other Eurasian nomadic tribes of Sauromatians, Sarmatians, and Saka. These Eurasian nomadic tribes blended together to form the Amazon motif[58] which challenged Ancient Greek gender roles, and still inspire today.

[58] Blok, x.

CHAPTER 3

NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE APACHE AND CHEROKEE TRIBES

> Lozen was, "my right hand . . . Strong as a man, braver than most, and cunning in strategy."
>
> — Chief Victorio, quoted in Moore, "Lozen An Apache Woman Warrior"

Lozen was an Apache warrior, renowned throughout her clan and tribe for her fighting skill and spiritual strength. She successfully pursued a warrior path vice a more traditional female domestic role.[59] John C. Cremony, a U.S. cavalry officer, kept extensive notes on the Apaches. He noted that an Apache woman (assumed to be Lozen) was, "renowned as one of the most dexterous horse thieves and horse breakers in the tribe, and seldom permitted an expedition to go on a raid without her presence."[60] Lozen was well respected for her unique spiritual abilities to track the enemy and protect her tribe. Lozen's supernatural visions of the enemy were considered a blessing from the spirit world which dictated every aspect of Apache life. As an Apache warrior, she never married or took on typical female Apache roles, but instead, fought alongside and advised the Chief. In addition to her spiritual abilities, her cross-gender position was thought to give her even more power. Because she did not fill traditional gender roles, she had more power. Instead of spending time devoted to the traditional female roles, such as gathering

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[59] Eve Ball, *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), 54, 103-104.

[60] John C. Cremony, *Life Among the Apaches* (San Francisco, CA: A. Roman and Company, Publishers, 1868), 243, accessed 14 October 2015, https://books.google.com/books?id=9YBHAAAAIAAJ&dq=life+among+the+apaches&lr=&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

food, she was able to focus on being a warrior and developing as a shaman or medicine woman. Her spiritual ability and fighting prowess earned Lozen the power and respect of her tribe.[61] She used these skills to serve her tribe, and was known as the "shield to her people."[62] In 1881, Chief Victorio was killed by Mexican soldiers at Tres Castillos, during a battle when Lozen was separated from him. Instead of protecting him, she was escorting a Mescalero Apache woman who had separated from her clan across the west Texas and eastern New Mexico wilderness. Many Apache tribesmen believe that had Lozen been present with Chief Victorio, he would not have fallen victim in the attack, and her powers would have protected them.[63] Lozen was among the 60 men and women that formed the war party to avenge Chief Victorio's death.

The legendary Geronimo, whose band of Apache warfighters Lozen joined later, included two prominent women fighters. Lozen was one of the few remaining warriors still by Geronimo's side when they surrendered and were forced to live at Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama. It was there, after relinquishing the Apache way of life, that she died in 1887.[64]

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[61] Laura Jane Moore, "Lozen: An Apache Woman Warrior," in *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives*, ed. Theda Perdue (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), 92-107.

[62] Eve Ball and James Kaywaykla, *In the Days of Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), 15, accessed 17 November 2015, http://www.jstor.org.lumen.cgsccarl.com/stable/j.ctt180r2hw.17.

[63] Ball, 62.

[64] Buchanan, 19, 32.

Figure 3. Apaches who Surrendered with Geronimo, September 1886

Source: William M. Clements, *Imagining Geronimo: An Apache Icon in Popular Culture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 202, ProQuest ebrary, accessed 17 March 2016, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/carl/reader.action?docID=10675682.
Note: Lozen is believed to be in the back row, sixth from right, with hair partially blocking her face. The group was en route to Fort Sam Houston, Texas.

Like the Amazons, myths and legends surround female Native Americans and the roles they played within their tribes as warfighters and hunters. Also similarly, children often grew up with exposure to the same environmental conditions—and were expected to learn how to survive. Horseback riding, tracking, hunting, and evading were all taught to both genders. Fighting was out of necessity, and sometimes meant the survival of both the individual and the tribe. In this chapter, examples from the Apache and Cherokee tribes provide insight on how environmental, political, economic, and social conditions made it necessary for women to fill multiple roles. Both tribes have unique history and

legends, but share an expectation that women support the tribe by whatever means necessary.

As with the Amazons, Native American history was rarely written down by the tribes themselves. Instead, American settlers and European traders left records of Native American women's roles as they saw them. Additionally, some oral tradition of these tribes survives in the form of legends passed down from generation to generation. Balancing the input between these two perspectives, a cultural examination of each tribe can be conducted.

Each tribe occupied a different geographic region of the U.S.. The Cherokee Indians come from the Eastern U.S. and were hunters, gatherers, and farmers.[65] Apache roamed the southwestern United States, between west Texas and Arizona and into northern Mexico.[66] Because these tribes are each so diverse, with hundreds of subtribes and clans, intracultural variance within the tribes will not be fully explored here. Apache and Cherokee tribes offer concrete examples of female participation through multiple primary sources describing them.

Many Native American tribes have legends about young and unmarried women who ignored danger to save relatives. These women were believed to be imbued with spiritual powers.[67] Among the Crow, Cheyenne, Lakota Sioux, and many other Native American tribes there are impressive legends of female hunters and warfighters. That

[65] Tom Holm, email correspondence with author, 8 December 2015.

[66] Buchanan, 6.

[67] Ibid., 43.

they are not considered here is a function of time constraints rather than a commentary on their relative importance in this examination.

To better understand Native American culture, it is important to first examine overused and inaccurate Stereotypes. Of the stereotypes that surround Native Americans, the "warrior" label engenders a mixed reaction. It is not accurate to describe an entire group of people with a few archetypes, particularly when these labels are imposed by an outside group. European cultures colonizing Native American territory imposed these one dimensional descriptors—such as "savages"—to marginalize an entire culture, in part to justify the subjugation of entire swathes of people. These terms are offensive and portrayed Native Americans as less than human.

As Maureen Trudelle Schwarz explains in *Fighting Colonialism with Hegemonic Culture: Native American Appropriation of Indian Stereotypes,* "the pan-tribal image of Indianness was fostered and shaped by the Euro-American stereotype of the iconic Plains Indian warrior."[68] It was a stereotype of Native American savagery and brutality that was used as a justification to take Native American land, and to kill or relocate the tribes that lived there. These fallacies rationalized Euro-American settlers' behavior so they could ignore facts that did not support taking Native American land.[69]

Stereotypes that specifically pertained to Native American women served to further marginalize half the Native American population. Rayna Green's "Pocahontas

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[68] Maureen Trudelle Schwarz, *Fighting Colonialism with Hegemonic Culture: Native American Appropriation of Indian Stereotypes* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013), 1-13, 20, ProQuest ebrary, accessed 1 February 2016, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/carl/reader.action?docID=10650190.

[69] John Upton Terrell, *Apache Chronicle* (New York: World Publishing, 1972), xxii.

Perplex" is one theory of the stereotypes surrounding Native American women. It emphasizes that the matriarchal societies could not be understood by the Euro-Americans, and that Native American women have to be "exotic, wild, collaborationist, crazy, or 'white' to qualify for white attention." Beatrice Medicine, a member of the Sioux (Lakota) and renowned anthropologist and historian, describes another version, the "prostitute–princess syndrome" where Native American women were negatively depicted as either a prostitute or a princess by male-biased historical writings.[70] Better understanding of the stereotypes and biases with which modern American history represents Native American culture illuminates nuanced aspects of Native American gender relations and roles.

In the early 1980s, Beatrice Medicine described child rearing as the primary and dominant role for Native American women. As the primary socializers of children, women maintained the culture, language, worldview, rituals, and practices of their tribes. By preserving the beliefs and behaviors, women had a major influence over culture. Labor was divided along gender lines, but did not subordinate women to men. Instead, the roles were complementary. Male roles included hunting and leading raids. Women pursued knowledge of food preparation, protecting offspring, shelter and fire, and medical knowledge. Like with the Amazons, the use of the horse and weapons such as

[70] Denise K. Lajimodiere, "Ogimah Ikwe: Native Women and their Path to Leadership," *Wicazo Sa Review*26, no. 2 (2011): 60.

the bow allowed Native American women to participate in hunting and warfighting in addition to maintaining their traditional roles.[71]

Evidence in many Native American tribes indicates gender was a much less static concept than in modern American culture. Third and fourth genders, a woman-like man or man-like woman, were considered natural and an important part of the tribe. Frequently, these individuals had more spiritual power than other members of the tribe. Third and fourth genders could move fluidly between male and female roles. With a far less strict social construct of what it meant to be male or female, many Native Americans had the choice to take actions that could fall under either traditional gender role.[72] Male and female clothing was slightly different, so tribe members' gender was recognized by appearance.

Gender-specific roles and tasking then reinforced an individual's gender identity. Gender identity affected participation in hunting and warfighting to the extent that most Native American women's priority was taking care of children and ensuring domestic tasks were accomplished. However, women were raised similarly to men because strength was critically important to survival. Both genders were encouraged to be proficient in self-defense and to be able to break camp quickly to escape danger or pursue

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[71] Buchanan, 14; Daniel Maltz and JoAllyn Archambault, "Gender and Power in Native North America," in *Women and Power in Native North America*, ed. Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 249.

[72] Roger M. Carpenter, "Womanish Men and Manlike Women: The Native American Two-spirit as Warrior," in *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America, 1400-1850*, ed. Sandra Slater and Fay A. Yarbrough (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2012), 156-166, ProQuest ebrary, accessed 1 February 2016, http://site.ebrary.com.lumen.cgsccarl.com/lib/carl/reader.action?docID=10602535&ppg=155.

a food supply.[73] Members of the tribe fought when conditions required that they do so, as members of the war party, or when avenging a family member's death. Women were often part of these groups.

Leadership positions, such as chief or counsel leaders, were respected by tribe members and held the highest social status. Additionally, spiritual leaders, such as a shaman, medicine man or woman had a higher social status. At the opposite end of the power spectrum were slaves. The slaves did not have the ability to choose a warrior path. The higher one's status, the more resources that individual would have at their disposal, as well as more power to make personal choices. This indicated a connection between a higher social status within the tribe and increased options for a woman to participate in hunting and warfighting. Particularly in the Apache tribe, women could choose to hunt or go to war with their husbands.[74] In the introduction example, as the sister of the Chief, Lozen's proximity to power contributed to her ability to choose the warrior role.

Gender did not determine social status per se, as traditional female roles were highly valued by many Native American tribes. As exemplified in the Cherokee war council, women were valued members of the tribe, who were not excluded from political decisions. Cherokee women fighters earned a title, "Ghi-ga-u" translated as "Beloved Woman", "Pretty Woman", or "War Woman" only after participating in warfighting. Not only could they go on war parties, but also advise on military matters and what to do with captives.[75]

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[73] Sattler, 229.

[74] Buchanan, 20.

[75] Ibid., 43.

Cherokee also had a more open status hierarchy which emphasized achievement in hunting, trade, warfighting, or oratory skills. A member of the tribe with skill in these areas gained power and respect. Age was another factor that influenced power. This egalitarian system valued maturity and reliability so age in both men and women was appreciated. This results-based society meant men listened to a woman's opinion, and there was no shame attached to heeding her advice.[76]

Social Conditions

Revenge, spirituality, the matriarchal nature of Apache and Cherokee societies, and the survival of the tribe created the conditions where women participated in warfighting. As illustrated above, the Apache and Cherokee matriarchal societies resulted in women holding high positions in their respective tribes. Women heavily influenced marriage decisions due to matrilocal tradition, meaning that a "husband lived with the wife's family after marriage."[77]

Marriage was based on economic decisions, as the woman's family usually received gifts in the process, and the husband joined the wife's family and everything he provided went to his wife's clan. Women were married at a young age, after first menstruation and domestic training was completed. These brides had some influence over the match.[78] As the givers of life, high regard for women was demonstrated in the marriage process described by an Apache below:

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[76] Sattler, 222-228.

[77] Buchanan, 12; Sattler, 221.

[78] Buchanan, 12-15.

> At marriage a man goes to the camp of the girl's parents to live. We do this because a woman is more valuable than a man. We do it to accommodate the woman. The son-in-law is considered a son and as one of the family. The in-laws depend a great deal on him. They depend on him for hunting and all kinds of work. He is almost a slave to them. Everything he gets on the hunt goes to them.[79]

The spiritual aspect of Apache and Cherokee culture influenced their respective societies deeply. Neither tribe excluded women from having spiritual powers. Apaches believed supernatural power controlled nature and everyday life. Since it was not fully understood, it was considered an omnipotent force. An example of this daily omnipotence was seen during childbirth, when a female shaman was usually present to ensure the health and safety of mother and child. Much like a warfighting title, shaman titles were earned only after surviving for four days on a mountain, testing an individual's spirituality and ability to interpret omens. To become a Chief of the tribe, one also had to demonstrate spiritual power. Captain John G. Bourke[80] recalled two female shamans who accompanied Apache warfighters on the campaigns, noting that both women were considered powerful shamans. Female spiritual ability could sway the battle in the Apache's favor, and these women were not shielded from battle.[81]

Revenge was another aspect of Native American social fabric, and was often a reason for women to participate in warfighting. Both Cherokee and Apache believed it was, on occasion, necessary to go on the war path when a tribe member was wrongfully killed. Cherokee women had a venue to lodge their complaint and request revenge for a

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[79] Morris E. Opler, *An Apache Life-Way* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 163.

[80] Aide to Gen George C. Crook during the Apache campaigns of 1870-75 and 1884-86.

[81] Buchanan, 33-38.

family member to the Pretty Woman, who then made the request to the Red Council to determine if war was required.[82] Apaches believed that it was a duty "to avenge injury" of relatives and enemies had to feel the consequences of wrongful actions. If action was not taken to avenge a wrong, then the life balance would be off. They saw going to war as vengeance and a necessity to maintain this balance.[83]

Women were often included when avenging the death of a family member particularly that of a brother or husband. If an Apache leader of the clan or tribe died in battle, then all able, surviving members of the tribe were assembled to form a war party.

Apache social circles divided along gender. However, women could still fill male roles. Conversely, Apache men did not fill domestic roles.[84] Similarly, Cherokee women could choose to join their husbands or brothers in these typically male roles and earn the Ghi-ga-u title. Another freedom of choice Cherokee women experienced was in sexual partners and activity, as female sexuality had few restrictions.[85] These societies, which spiritual power and tradition of avenging wrongs also influenced, created openings for women to go where they were most needed. Clearly this included joining in warfighting.

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[82] Holm, email correspondence with author, 8 December 2015.

[83] Laura Jane Moore, "Lozen: An Apache Woman Warrior," in *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives*, ed. Theda Perdue (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), 97.

[84] Buchanan, 12, 19.

[85] Daniel Maltz and JoAllyn Archambault, "Gender and Power in Native North America," in *Women and Power in Native North America*, ed. Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 236.

Environmental Conditions

The Apache had a pastoral culture, depending upon hunting and raiding for their sustenance. The Apache believed that everyone was a part of the land; therefore, no one owned it.[86] The pastoral environment required more flexible gender roles; for example, everyone had to be fast enough to follow the food supply. Likewise, tribe members of both genders had to be able to fight in the event of raids. All members of the tribe were able to participate in hunting and warfighting for the overall benefit of the entire tribe. In the Apache tribe, women had the "opportunity to strive for pursuits traditionally considered to be reserved for males."[87] These choices were not afforded to women in other Native American cultures or the Anglo-American societies during this time.

Another factor of the pastoral environment was that members of both genders were required to have physical strength and speed. Female and male children received the same basic training, encouraging running and strength. All children needed to be able to reach safety quickly in case of attack, and every child carried or had access to basic supplies to survive (in event they were separated from the tribe). Apache children commonly raced or hunted rabbits. Both genders also learned horsemanship and archery skills, critical abilities for hunting and raiding. Emphasis for boys was on warfighting, and from a young age they would accompany their families on war parties, staying at a forward camp with the women who did not fight, while the warriors engaged in fighting. However, this training of all children helped insure that girls had at least the same basic

[86] Terrell, xii.

[87] Buchanan, 43.

warfighting skills so they were prepared to fight if needed.[88] As situations dictated, all members of the tribe continually honed these skills by moving through the land—either hunting, fighting, or fleeing from adversaries.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the lifestyle of the Apaches changed rapidly. They were forced to leave their native lands and live on reservations. This significant change in environment made the traditional Apache lifestyle impossible, as they were no longer free to follow the food supply or raid for sustenance. Instead, many Apaches struggled to survive and avoid confinement to the reservation. It was in this changing environment that Lozen's talent and skill came to light. Female participation was vital to the Apache struggle, and women had even more independence to fill male roles because their society was struggling to survive outside the reservations. The Apache who tried to live away from the reservations were in a fight for their very survival. In this environment, they struggled to preserve their way of life and provide for their families. To combat the overwhelming force and firepower of the U.S. Army, the Apache had to use every possible individual since they were not in a "more established, stable, and populous" society.[89] A majority of their time was spent securing food, so both Apache men and women contributed by hunting and raiding. This quest for survival required that a much greater percentage of the population had to contribute to the process to try to increase the odds for success.

[88] Buchanan, 14-15, 19.

[89] Ibid., 11.

Political Conditions

Native American women drove tribal politics in a variety of ways. Denise K. Lajimodiere, described in the *Wicazo Sa Review* that "Native American women's roles were more powerful, important, and related to leadership than European men would have expected or understood, and their roles were as diverse as the tribes of North America."[90]They often held positions of power or were able to influence the men in leadership positions. Equal value was placed on the roles and power wielded by both genders. Before colonization, many Native American tribes had very egalitarian cultures. With the introduction of U.S. laws such as the Indian Reorganization Act the power-balance shifted. The act limited democratically elected tribal councils selection and participation to men. Further, the Dawes Act permitted only men to own land. As a consequence women's political power was degraded. They were no longer making equal decisions on tribal leaders nor equally tied to the land.[91] A reversal in this trend of marginalization is seen towards the end of the nineteenth century, as more tribes struggled to survive outside reservations. It was in this daily fight against U.S. politics driving the Native Americans to reservations that legends of Native American women fighting to preserve their culture once again resurged. One example of the struggle is captured in ledger book art below, in figure 4. While it is a Cheyenne legend, it is a clear example of a woman coming to the aid of a man during battle.

[90] Lajimodiere, 58.

[91] Ibid., 58-62.

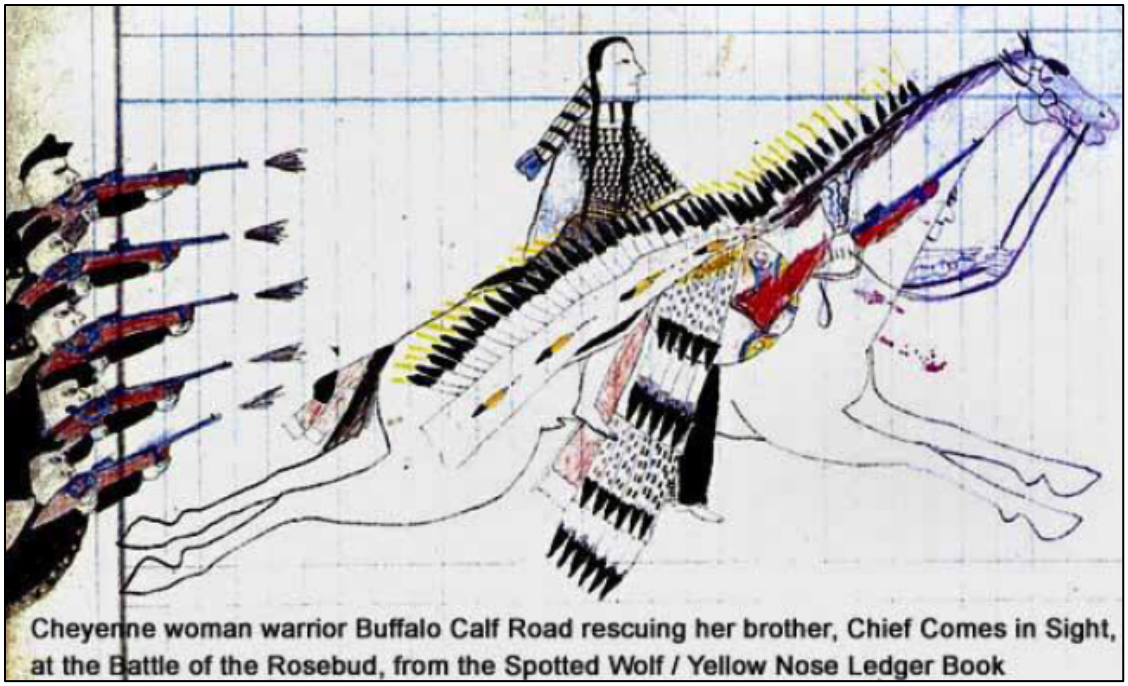

Figure 4. Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas

Source: Adrienne Mayor, Ph.D, email correspondence with author, 10 December 2015.

Before and after resettlement, one constant was that tribal politics were driven by the clan ties within each tribe. These strong familial bonds were drawn by the mother's line, in both Apache and Cherokee traditions. Matrilineal connections, where-by "descent was traced through the mother"[92] meant that bonds between women, their children, and their siblings were very strong. These bonds were considered a part of every decision made by the tribe and illustrate one aspect of how women were able to wield power even though they did not hold an official position. Additionally, both societies were matrilocal and matrifocal, which Buchanan defines as when the mother's role is "culturally and structurally central."

[92] Buchanan, 12.

Male roles were heavily influenced by these female-focused traditions. Much of what they learned and understood about their culture was taught to them by women. While these ideologies emphasized substantial female power, decisions were still primarily made by the men. These traditions meant women had substantial influence over political matters, but men still retained the authority in Native American cultures.[93]

Many Native American tribes included women on various councils. An example was described above in the gender relations section on the Cherokee's Red Council. A seat on the Red Council was traditionally held by the Ghi-ga-u or Pretty Woman. The Red Council was responsible for warfare and diplomacy for the tribe, and the Pretty Woman had the sole responsibility of initiating war, and deciding to pardon or punish prisoners. The Pretty Woman tradition ended by the late eighteenth century, and the last woman to hold the position was Nancy Ward, whose Cherokee name is Nan-ye-hi.[94] Nancy Ward earned this position by going to war against the Creek tribe and fighting in the place of her husband, Kingfisher, when he died in the battle at Taliwa in 1755. This pivotal position on the Red Council is one example of the political influence that Cherokee women had and their responsibility to serve their tribe.[95]

Before the Cherokee were forced from their lands in eastern Tennessee, Nancy Ward negotiated for peace with the U.S. Government, which was moving to take

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[93] Maltz and Archambault, 230-249.

[94] Cynthia Cumfer, "Nanye- hi (Nancy Ward) (c. 1730s– 1824) Diplomatic Mother," in *Tennessee Women, Volume 1: Their Lives and Times*, ed. Sarah Wilkerson Freeman and Beverly Greene Bond (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 1-5, ProQuest ebrary, accessed 1 February 2016, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/carl/reader.action?docID=10438119.

[95] Holm, email correspondence with author, 8 December 2015.

Cherokee land. She worked to find a peaceful resolution to the tensions between the Cherokee and the Euro-Americans. She also exercised political power in a more traditional gender role, through the marriage of her three daughters. The eldest two daughters married successful Euro-American traders. The youngest daughter married North Carolina's and Virginia's Indian agent to the Cherokees.[96] This kinship gained her direct access to trade and the U.S. Government. One example of the value of Nancy Ward's advice was in 1819, when an Indian agent, Reuben Lewis, wrote that her "advice and council borders on supreme."[97]

The Cherokees were forced to leave their ancestral land in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia on the Trail of Tears, 12 years after Nancy's death.[98] Nancy Ward's legacy has been credited with laying the political foundation for modern day women's leadership in the Cherokee tribe. It has not been a consistently improving path. As external Euro-American laws and gender identities influenced Native American ones, Native American women were increasingly marginalized.[99] The next Cherokee female leader was not elected until 1985, when Wilma Mankiller overcame prevailing sexism to be the principal chief of the Cherokee Nation for ten years (1985-1995). In addition to being an accomplished author and activist, Mankiller led the Cherokee Nation during a

[96] Cumfer, 8.

[97] Ibid., 13.

[98] Ibid., 17.

[99] Maltz and Archambault, 241.

critical time in their history. They were once again fighting for economic independence and for preservation of their culture.[100]

Economic Conditions

In many Native American tribes, women controlled the resources of the family. In the Apache tradition, women managed the family's wealth. Similarly, Cherokee women owned the corn stores, houses, and the fields due to their matrifocal traditions.[101] Since women owned the land, they also did almost all agricultural work and made the decisions of what and when to plant. Men assisted with clearing fields and planting. This control and influence over the economic growth of the clan or tribe was a significant source of power for women.[102]

There was also a spiritual aspect to economic decisions made by the Cherokee, because they believed the creator gave them the lands they farmed.[103] As with all Native American tribes, spirituality was a pillar of the Cherokee culture and intertwined throughout daily life. Mother Earth—a highly valued feminine concept—as the giver of life was a fundamental life-force. In keeping with the spiritual power of the land, it was conserved and treated with respect and humility. The land provided a source of nourishment and income, which was threatened when they lost their ancestral homes.

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[100] Wilma Mankiller, ed., *Every Day Is a Good Day : Reflections by Contemporary Indigenous Women* (New York: Fulcrum Publishing, 2011), 191, ProQuest ebrary, accessed 1 February 2016, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/carl/reader.action?docID=10470131.

[101] Holm, email correspondence with author, 8 December 2015.

[102] Sattler, 223.

[103] Cumfer, 3.

As the native Cherokee lands in Tennessee and Georgia were taken by Euro-American settlers and peace between the two declared in 1795, increasing numbers of Cherokee women joined the men to hunt in order to provide for their clan. The increasing desperation for food and resources created a shift in culture for more women to hunt or trade. Women also sold goods to traders providing supplies to the settlers, which brought an increase of wealth to the tribe.[104]

The Apache tribe was pastoral, and less agrarian than the Cherokee. While the Cherokee farmed, the Apache acquired food through hunting and raiding. Raiding was dependent on impressive equestrian skills, speed, and warfighting ability.[105] As the number of Apache not relegated to reservations dwindled, more women left the home to join in raiding. By increasing the numbers of skilled fighters, odds of success increased, as did the volume of assets taken from the raid. Breaking out from reservations required entire families go on the war path and defend themselves from the U.S. soldiers working to return them.[106] Survival depended upon every member with warfighting skill participate—whether male or female—to the best of their ability. The remaining smaller groups had to ban together, moving at the same speed and raiding for supplies when necessary. Since they were avoiding capture, every individual was engaged in the struggle, fighting U.S. soldiers to remain free.

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[104] Cumfer, 15.

[105] Terrell, xiii.

[106] Buchanan, 22.

Conclusion

As can be seen, Native American women participated in hunting, raiding, and warfighting when it meant the survival of their family or tribe. These roles were not just reserved for women accompanying their husbands to provide a supporting role. Multiple aspects of Native American culture empowered women to participate in hunting and warfighting. The environmental, political, economic, and social conditions described above led to an open society, whereby the contributions of all genders were valued.

This participation was highly respected by the members of the tribe. Kimberly Buchanan defines status as "the degree to which a person possesses characteristics valued in a particular society."[107] Female status can increase when women contribute to political or economic processes, such as going to war or providing food for survival of the tribe. The more opportunities for this participation, over a longer period of time, resulted in an increase of both status and power. Native American women had more power due to matrilineal descent, matrilocal residence, and limited restrictions on female sexuality.[108]

As exemplified by the Apache and Cherokee tribes above, when Native American women chose to participate in hunting and warfighting, they earned the respect of clan and tribe. The additional fighting power added when an entire adult population on the war path together was invaluable. In the case of the Apache and the Cherokee, as their dwindling numbers fought to maintain their ancestral lands, increasing numbers of women participated in warfighting. While unable to oppose being forced onto the

[107] Buchanan, 43.

[108] Maltz and Archambault, 236.

reservations, these women's struggle to preserve their culture deserves immense respect and serves as a model today.

CHAPTER 4

FEMALE PARTICIPANTS IN CENTRAL AMERICAN GUERRILLA WARFARE

> Being a woman wasn't a problem, because there [in the guerrillas] we were all equal.
>
> — Estela (FMLN guerrilla fighter), quoted in Viterna, *Women in War*

Salvadoran women joined the FMLN to fight a brutal dictatorship that oppressed the majority of the population. Isabel is one of these women. She grew up attending political meetings with her parents and supported the Popular Liberation Forces. As a 14-year-old, Isabel was appointed to the position of "propaganda and finances" on her village council. In 1981 at the age of 15, she joined the FMLN with her sister and was initially assigned as a cook. At the time she had completed her sixth grade education. Two months into her time cooking at the guerrilla camp she was recognized for her intelligence and ability, and promoted to radio operator for the guerrilla commander, accompanying him on operations and fighting in that process. After proving herself adept at radio operation, she was assigned to conduct radio interception for her platoon. Her hard work and contributions were recognized and she moved farther up the chain of command to be the Head of Interception for the Front. At one point she intercepted a message from an El Salvadoran Armed Forces pilot passing coordinates to drop a bomb on their location. She was able to warn the commander in time so the FMLN members co-located with her moved to safety. That commander went on to hold an important FMLN leadership position, and when interviewed, Isabel said she was confident that her radio intercept skills were what kept him alive to do so. She had a romantic partner at the camp. While not formally married to him, that style of relationship was recognized and

respected within the camp. She became pregnant and left the danger of the guerrilla camp. She nearly died in child birth and her child passed away shortly thereafter. She never returned to the camp after 1986. Instead Isabel earned a scholarship to go back to school and pursue a degree in education. She leveraged this experience to become the president of one of the most important education Non-Governmental Organizations in central El Salvador and a leader of her local FMLN chapter.[109]

The final and most contemporary case study in this thesis describes female participants in Central American guerrilla warfare. The late twentieth-century revolutions in Nicaragua and El Salvador gave rise to a contingent of female supporters previously unseen and under-represented. Analysis of the social, political, economic, and environmental factors surrounding female participation in both the FSLN and FMLN, will illuminate female contribution in asymmetric warfare. Understanding how women participated in guerrilla movements provides another perspective on female participation in warfighting.

Overcoming a "structurally subordinate position" in traditional Latin American culture to join resistance movements as fighters demonstrated how women overcame societal obstacles to fight. It also demonstrated the great need for fighters in the FSLN and FMLN causes.[110] Approximately 30 percent of FSLN forces and 40 percent of FMLN forces were female.[111]

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[109] Jocelyn Viterna, *Women in War: The Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2013), 83-87, 128, 175, Table A.1.

[110] Linda L. Reif, "Women in Latin American Guerrilla Movements: A Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 18, no. 2 (1986): 147.

[111] Kampwirth, *Women and Guerrilla Movements*, Kindle 1-2.

This comparatively large percentage of female participants was mainly due to socioeconomic changes in their respective countries as well as a radical shift in mobilization tactics by the guerrilla leaders. This serves as a modern example of women integrated in the fighting force.

Historical Background–Nicaragua

Augusto Sandino, for whom the Sandanista movement is named, led a nationalistic guerrilla movement in the northern Nicaraguan highlands from 1927-1934. The original Sandino was not tied to any form of Marxist-Leninist revolution, but instead struggled against U.S. influence and supported self-determination for the population of Nicaragua. The Sandanista, or FSLN, movement, started in 1962 in response to the brutal dictatorship of the Somoza regime. With the assistance of Fidel Castro, FSLN leveraged Augusto Sandino's legacy of popular revolt to gain more support and widen their appeal.[112]

The Somoza regime started in May 1927 with the appointment of Anastasio Somoza Garcia to Commander in Chief of the Nicaraguan Armed Forces, called the Guardia. This gave Somoza not only immense power but the ability to stage a military coup and install a figurehead president. By 1937, Somoza ran and won the presidential election, furthering the abuse of power which began with control of the armed forces. After Somoza's assassination in 1956, his oldest son briefly ruled before dying of a heart attack. Then his younger son, Anastasio Somoza, Jr. took over the presidency before

[112] Janusz Bugajski, *The Washington Papers*, vol. 143, *Sandinista Communism and Rural Nicaragua* (New York: Praeger, 1990), 18.

being overthrown by the FSLN in 1974. It was this next generation of Somoza, Jr. and his brother, who lost power to the FSLN in the 1960s.

By the 1970s, the FSLN took a less radical approach to the revolution and appealed to educated members of society as well as the Catholic church as the only choice to oppose the Somoza dynasty. The FSLN came to official power of the Nicaraguan Government in July, 1979 by signing a peace treaty with the Guardia and promising a "socialist transformation."[113]

The Cold War strain between the Sandinista and U.S. Governments only increased during the Reagan Administration, which was openly hostile towards the Sandinistas due to U.S anti-communist policies. Disillusioned supporters of the FSLN formed an anti-Sandinista guerrilla group, called *Contras*, (Spanish for counter revolutionary). *Contras* trained in Honduras, instructed by Argentine Armed Forces. After the Iran-Contra Affair in 1984, Congress forbade assistance to the *Contras*, concluding another chapter of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua.[114]

In 1990, FSLN leader Daniel Ortega held observed elections and the Sandinistas were defeated. They still remained an important part of the Nicaraguan political landscape when Daniel Ortega won the presidential elections in 2006 and 2011. FSLN

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[113] Anthony J. Joes, *Guerrilla Warfare: A Historical, Biographical and Bibliographical Sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 136-140, ProQuest ebrary, accessed 17 November 2015, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/carl/reader.action?docID=10002013.

[114] Ibid., 141.

currently holds approximately 67 percent of the legislative positions in Nicaragua[115] and their influence across the political landscape is strong.

The FSLN leveraged female support for their causes by identifying with a legacy, Luisa Amanda Espinoza, who was the first woman to die in combat fighting against the Somoza regime.[116] The Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE) is an effective mass organization which represents women's interests to the FSLN. The AMNLAE not only organizes support of the female populous but addresses women's needs in the community.[117]

Historical Background–El Salvador

The movement in El Salvador was heavily influenced by their neighbors in Nicaragua. After observing close to twenty years of socialist struggle in Nicaragua, the FMLN was officially established in 1980 marking the largest full-scale civil war in Central America, with an estimated 10,000-12,000 FMLN members. Of those FMLN members, the United Nations (UN) reported approximately 40 percent of forces were female, 30 percent combatants and 20 percent military leadership. These were the most

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[115] CIA World Factbook, "Nicaragua," Central Intelligence Agency, accessed 4 March 2016, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/nu.html.

[116] Ilja A. Luciak, *After the Revolution: Gender and Democracy in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 28, accessed 3 March 2016, http://site.ebrary.com.lumen.cgsccarl.com/lib/carl/reader.action?docID=10021602#.

[117] Lynn Stephen, *Women and Social Movements in Latin America: Power from Below* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 58, ProQuest ebrary, accessed 4 March 2016, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/carl/reader.action?docID=10015725.

accurate statistics of the Central American guerrilla movements collected by the UN during FMLN demobilization in 1992.[118]

Like Nicaragua, El Salvador was ruled by a series of brutal oligarchies or military dictatorships for much of the twentieth century. As early as the 1930s, a concentration of land and wealth was evident as only 10 percent of the population owned land. Infamous massacres, such as La Matanza in 1931, set the tone for distrust between the people and their rulers. This distrust built up over time until the strain resulted in the formation of the FMLN.[119] The Salvadoran Armed Forces were notoriously unprofessional and committed atrocities even though the growing middle class protested and demanded change.

In December 1980, several revolutionary groups collaborated in Havana, Cuba to organize the FMLN, named in honor of a Salvadoran communist contemporary of Sandino, Agustín Farabundo Martí. The FMLN attracted good leaders with sound tactics, who benefited from the incompetence of the Salvadoran Armed Forces. As they had done previously, the Salvadoran Armed Forces responded to the FMLN with death squads focused on the opposition and their supporters. A widely known incident was the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980 as he was holding a public worship service. This was in response to Romero's message the day before where he called for an end to the military oppression and massacres.[120]

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[118] Kampwirth, *Women and Guerrilla Movements*, 2.

[119] Clifford Krauss, *Inside Central America: Its People, Politics, and History* (New York: Touchstone, 1991), 61.

[120] Robin Maria DeLugan, *Reimagining National Belonging: Post-Civil War el Salvador in a Global Context* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 8, ProQuest ebrary, accessed 5 March 2016, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/carl/reader.action?docID=10630041.

Despite these atrocities, U.S. policy through the Carter and Reagan Administrations still backed the El Salvadoran anti-communist government. In January 1982, the Salvadoran Armed Forces trained at Fort Bragg, North Carolina and returned home with improved skills that intensified the bitter fighting against the FMLN from 1982-1985. The FMLN responded by disappearing into Nicaragua when pressured. These tactics dragged the civil war on until the UN brokered a peace in 1992.[121] Since then the FMLN has been an active part of the official Salvadoran Government. FMLN candidate, Salvador Sanchez Ceren, won the most recent Presidential election in 2014. The FMLN holds 31 percent of the 84 seat Legislative Assembly.[122]

In traditional Central American culture, female "social structure" was subordinate to men. In this environment, women were bound to domestic tasks—childcare and daily tasks of cooking, cleaning, and managing the household. Prioritizing the female role in reproduction, any additional tasks complimented that primary function.[123] Gender in traditional Central American culture was recognized based on appearance, then gender-specific roles and tasking reinforced an individual's gender identity. This association was typically static, and only when the revolutionary causes they supported required expanded roles outside of domestic work, did women operate outside these societal norms.

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[121] Joes, 143-144.

[122] CIA World Factbook, "El Salvador," Central Intelligence Agency, accessed 4 March 2016, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/es.html.

[123] Reif, 148.

This strong gender identity and constraining roles limited opportunities available to women as well as their participation in guerrilla warfare. One former guerrilla fighter described female fighters: "[t]he female combatants were quite respected. They had to show that they really could do the same as everybody else."[124] The additional combat duties were assigned by the guerilla leaders deemed appropriate for women. This is in addition to daily fighting on the front. In the FMLN, for instance, female guerrilla fighters were assigned additional roles of medic or radio operator. These duties required women maneuver and fight alongside the men in their guerrilla unit, on patrols, in an attack, or other forward fighting positions. Their attention to detail and often higher education level made them ideal candidates for these front-line roles where for many years women distinguished themselves in these billets. They became the standard bearers for how these jobs should be completed. A majority of women were placed in either cooking or logistics roles and did not leave the base camp. However, they were subject to raids and fighting at the base camp.[125]

Environmental Conditions

Throughout Central America, land was concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy members of the population. Between the lack of land available for farming and a growing population in competition for limited resources, the mounting insecurity for the poor created an environment where people were radicalized mainly because they were

[124] Kampwirth, *Women and Guerrilla Movements*, 77.

[125] Viterna, 149-150.

unable to sustain their lifestyles. It is in this uncertain environment that women turned to the FMLN and FSLN to oppose the unequal distribution of land and wealth.

As their governments further tightened restrictions, Central American citizens were left with few options. If they chose to join the fight, they could participate in a range of roles. They could fight in the guerrilla camps or work in their villages as a collaborator, supplier, or protestor. According to Jocelyn Viterna in *Women in War: The Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador*, there were three ways that women became fighters in the FMLN: they could be recruited from refugee camps, they could be pressured into joining, or they could willingly join. After arriving at the guerrilla camp, the camp commander determined their individual ability and assigned them to an appropriate position. Many male and female guerrillas interviewed for Viterna's research indicated that jobs were assigned based on ability and described the division of labor in the guerilla camps as fair and ability-based.[126]

Viterna described FMLN jobs at the guerrilla camps as either "high prestige" or "low prestige" jobs. The majority of women filled low prestige jobs such as cooking or running logistics. Of the high prestige jobs women filled in combat, the majority of the commanders selected women as radio operators, combat medics, or trauma nurses. Occasionally women who showed an aptitude would fill guerrilla fighter roles. As described by one of the fighters Viterna interviewed, "[t]hey [the commanders] would see in what area a person was most capable, and they'd put them there, in the job they could perform."[127]

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[126] Viterna, 149-150.

[127] Ibid., 135.

Medical and radio operator positions were filled by women so often that commanders eventually expected women to fill these positions. They established that only women, with their detail oriented nature and education, could properly fulfill these duties. The most highly educated people at the guerrilla camps were usually the women who had often been educated in the refugee camps. Generally, men had joined the guerrilla fighters or army at a younger age and left school before the women had. Female guerrilla fighters participated alongside male counterparts in daily intense physical training, drilled in military exercises, intercepted and decoded radio transmissions, and employed weapons for offense and defense. Radio operators had to defend themselves in battle first, moving with the commander at all times to ensure he had constant contact with higher headquarters. Similarly, female medics were required to march with the fighters, engage in fighting the enemy while providing aid or dragging the wounded to safety. In addition to fighting when needed, the combat medics could amputate limbs and provide immediate medical care while under enemy fire.[128]

Wendy Shaull lived in El Salvador among the FMLN from February 1984 to the summer of 1985. She interviewed one of the "First Aid and Health" leaders at a mid-level commander's camp named Alicia. At the age of 17, Alicia had already been with the guerrillas for four years. She described the three stages of medical care and training for the women assigned as nurses. Most alarming were the high casualty rates for nurses starting in the medical field and unaccustomed to moving in combat to care for the

[128] Ibid., 149, 204.

wounded.[129] Men and women alike were living in combat zones, equally susceptible to enemy fire, and codependent on each other to fulfill their mission-essential roles.

Political Conditions

FSLN was the first Central American guerrilla organization to deviate from the Che Guevara method of garnering focused support of small groups called "foco" mobilization.[130] They used mass mobilization instead. This mobilization strategy welcomed any member to support the cause in any capacity in which they were capable. This did not decrease the sexism women faced, but it did require members to put barriers to female participation aside in the interest of gaining support and numbers for their cause.[131]

Additionally, the FSLN and FMLN evolved from a strictly military group to a political-military organization with a strategy to effect change in their government. The political movement had a broader appeal to women, who primarily joined to change their personal situation, as well as develop their families and country. While similar motivations appealed to men, the expectation that they would fight did not leave them an alternative. Many teenage boys had to choose to join the government or the guerrillas

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[129] Wendy Shaull, *Tortillas, Beans, and M-16s: A Year with the Guerrillas in El Salvador* (London: Pluto Press, 1990), 36-37.

[130] Che Guevara defined foco mobilization as, "Nuclei with relatively few people choose places favorable for guerrilla warfare with the intention of either unleashing a counterattack or weathering the storm, and from there they start taking action." Che Guevara, "Guerrilla Warfare: a Method," Marxists Internet Archive, 2005, accessed 10 April 2016, http://www.marxists.org/archive/guevara/1963/09/guerrilla-warfare.htm, 1-14.

[131] Kampwirth, *Women and Guerrilla Movements*, 32.

early or the choice would be made for them. The political discourse gained popularity in local villages and political motives gained more support.[132] People looked for the most viable way to oppose the dictatorship and put their support behind it.

The increase in repression from the state resulted in even more radical activities among its people. The more harshly the government responded to its people, the more they were inspired to fight against the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan Governments and militaries. The established governments were mired in conflict and struggling for power. They did not have an ethical cause. Due to the U.S. military aid and support of El Salvadoran Armed Forces, the Salvadoran military leaders had the means to drag out the civil war and maximize their profits.[133] The political support was behind the people, not the government. This created a political movement which women supported with fervor and one that valued the contributions of every individual on and off the battlefield.

Economic Conditions

Throughout the twentieth century, increased economic globalization led to greater income inequality. El Salvador and Nicaragua's main economic asset is agriculture, so agro export crops grown in mass quantities pushed people, particularly the peasants, off their land. Expanding land requirements and an increased mechanized farming process meant that more land and less people were needed. Those most vulnerable and poorest people were those who could no longer find work and therefore, not afford to maintain

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[132] Rosario Montoya, *Gendered Scenarios of Revolution: Making New Men and New Women in Nicaragua, 1975-2000* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 51-55, ProQuest ebrary, accessed 5 March 2016, http://site.ebrary.com.lumen.cgsccarl.com/lib/carl/reader.action?docID=1062810.

[133] Joes, 143.

their land. Class inequality grew exponentially so the desire of the common people to fight the wealthy class, backed by the regime, grew with the disparity in classes. The primary cash crops of cotton and coffee required less labor than other crops, resulting in decreased jobs. In addition to these economic hardships, rising food prices also put pressure on the people resulting in a crisis which affected male and female alike. Men often traveled to find agricultural work during the planting and harvesting seasons, resulting in an increase in family abandonment by men. Women had even fewer options to support their families than men did, increasing their desperation to change the economic environment.[134] Increased numbers of women joined the work force and migrated to urban areas. These economic factors contributed to the willingness to oppose the government and support guerrilla fighters, particularly for women.[135]

Social Conditions

Transformation in the Catholic church complimented the FMLN and FSLN political strategies and played a major role in daily life in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Results of Vatican II[136] and the Latin American Bishop's Conference at Medellin, Colombia in 1968 changed the way the Catholic church interacted with and led their communities. The priests and nuns were charged with community outreach and support. The "liberal theology movement" educated the population and politicized people through their exposure to religion as well as secular self-help.

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[134] Kampwirth, *Women and Guerrilla Movements*, 23-24, 32.

[135] Ibid., 27.

[136] Vatican II was the council convened by Pope John XXIII from 1962-1965 to make sweeping changes in the Catholic church.

A social aspect to the economic changes that took place during the FMLN and FSLN rise to power is the change in traditional roles and disruption of family life. Not only were women migrating to the cities to find work but often children also had to work. Additionally, people were organizing outside the home, in church, at school, or in labor unions, which provided social networks the FMLN and FSLN could leverage for support.[137]

In patriarchal Central American societies, social class was dependent on the male members of a woman's family. Fathers or husbands determined the social spheres in which a woman would interact. Although some roles in which women participated during the guerrilla fighting did allow them to meet people outside their typical circles and expand their contacts. Women involved in education and medical fields were able to work alongside international aid organizations that provided access to more education and careers post-conflict outside traditional channels. Powerful post-conflict careers generally came from connections women made working for a high-powered commander during the conflict. Women who distinguished themselves fighting and operating radios for higher ranking commanders were more likely to get a well-connected political job after the war. Female fighters did change that aspect of society.[138]

Alternatively, some women did not have positive experiences in the FMLN and FSLN. Both organizations had instances of sexual assault and harassment of the women integrating male ranks. Some reports state that sexual harassment in the FMLN was

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[137] Kampwirth, *Women and Guerrilla Movements*, 27-29.

[138] Viterna, 148-150.

acceptable.[139] Milú Vargas, a FSLN member, activist and lawyer, called the FSLN a "sexist party" since women were not recognized at all levels.[140] Alternatively, Viterna's research indicated that women were not sexually harassed in the guerrilla camps and that respect for one another was a key element of the relationships between the guerrillas. Most of her subjects concurred that fighters lived as a family so sexual assault and harassment was not an issue. The death penalty was punishment for rape among the FMLN, and it was taken seriously. Female FMLN fighters had access to birth control and were protected from partner violence, progress which was almost unheard of outside of the guerrilla camps. The FMLN projected an ideal citizen concept which directly opposed how the Salvadoran Armed Forces conducted themselves.[141] Countless reports of women imprisoned by the Salvadoran Government reported rape and torture, frequently after imprisonment for supporting the FMLN.[142] This principle of respect and taking care of the people was an important aspect the FMLN and FSLN represented.

Conclusion

Overall, the FSLN supports equality and cooperation, in reality, organizations like AMNLAE point to the gender lines that continue to exist in Nicaragua. The Sandinista revolution from 1979–1990 has an ambiguous record on women's issues. While they

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[139] Karen Kampwirth, *Feminism and the Legacy of Revolution: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas* (Athens, OH: Center for International Studies, Ohio University, September 2004), 17.

[140] M. Randall, *Sandino's Daughters Revisited: Feminism in Nicaragua* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1994), 132-135.

[141] Viterna, 152-155, 204.

[142] Kampwirth, *Women and Guerrilla Movements,* 79.

needed female support to succeed, emerging women's movements were stifled. Evidence of violence against women in the FSLN, particularly by some top leaders, has been the darker side of the legacy. In fact, much of the gender equality accomplished in the 1980s has not been maintained in current Nicaraguan society. Women are still fighting for the equal opportunities and to regain the ground they established during the civil war.[143] Unfortunately, the current political status of women in El Salvador did not sustain the equality fought for in the 1980s.[144] There is still a need for increased gender equality in these countries.

As can be seen, women made significant contributions to the FMLN and FSLN efforts. Karen Kampwirth, Central American gender studies scholar, observed "Any woman who served in combat automatically enjoyed some prestige, given the glorification of violence that played a not so insignificant role in guerrilla culture."[145] Mass mobilization tactics were the most gender equalizing and allowed women to make warfighting contributions. By opening the doors to any individual with a contribution to the movement, FMLN and FSLN maximized the work force available to them. Putting aside traditional gender roles and assigning people to tasks based on their ability, leaders of the FMLN and FSLN gained 30-40 percent additional personnel for their cause.

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[143] Nadine Jubb, "Love, Family Values and Reconciliation for All, but What about Rights, Justice and Citizenship for Women? The FSLN, the Women's Movement, and Violence against Women in Nicaragua," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 33, no. 3 (2014): 292, Academic Search Elite, EBSCOhost, accessed 17 November 2015, http://lumen.cgsccarl.com/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=96363165&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

[144] Ibid., 289-304.

[145] Kampwirth, *Feminism and the Legacy of Revolution*, 25.

Details on the women in purely fighting roles were not distinguished from their male counterparts. Those women were just another guerrilla fighter.

Women given the opportunity to support these guerrilla movements proved themselves in combat. They worked so efficiently at their given tasks, guerilla leaders established new gender roles for them, such as radio operation, intercepting enemy communications, combat medic, and nursing at forward posts. By becoming the standard in combat ability for these roles, women earned a vital place in the movement. The survival of both movements required that every member contribute to the best of their abilities.

What FMLN and FSLN women brought to the fight was different than their male counterparts. They had generally higher education levels, an attention to detail for the more technical positions, and strong social networks to leverage for logistical and ideological support. Additionally, since female fighters were less expected to directly participate in combat than their male counterparts, they were subjected to less suspicion and could better maneuver outside the battlespace.

Female participation also added stronger emotion to the cause. It demonstrated a level of urgency, that even the women are joining the FMLN and FSLN causes, instead of the established government and military. The gender narrative also presented an image of the movements protecting their countries, since women are traditional protectors of family and children. Normally a force for peace, by bearing arms against an oppressive

regime, women increased passion for the cause. Likewise, violence against women also mobilized support.[146]

The experience most certainly shaped women, empowering them in unprecedented ways in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Gender equality is still an issue in these countries, but women have made significant gains moving towards sustained gender equality. Female fighters' unique contributions on the battlefield and in the guerrilla camps were critical to the success of the FMLN and FSLN movements.

[146] Viterna, 205-207.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

> Women hold up half the sky.
>
> — Mao Zedong, quoted in Kristof and WuDunn, *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression Into Opportunity for Women Worldwide*

These three case studies suggest that the idea of women in combat is neither new nor exceptional. While the three cultures examined faced some of the same general conditions, each is unique in terms of why women were ultimately involved in combat. By understanding both the general conditions and the specific context in which these women acted, it is possible to weigh the contribution of gender diversity in these cases. Despite the differences in time and culture between the cases, analysis of these particular examples suggests that certain conditions were of greater importance to the regular participation of women in hunting and combat. The women studied here met an expectation from their tribe, clan, or organization to join in hunting or warfighting roles. The commonalities between the cases were examined through the environmental, political, economic, and social conditions across the groups. To extrapolate the usefulness of these cases to present day is more challenging. The U.S. military is not facing the same challenges that these peoples and cultures met. The conditions that allowed for women in these case studies to be engaged in warfighting are not the case now. Despite this, this study illustrates important aspects of female participation in combat that can be of value to the U.S. military as it moves through this evolution.

In all cases, the use of the entire population instead of just men capitalized on economy of force and ensured every asset was being brought to bear against the enemy.

Clausewitz advised that economy of force must be used, "[w]hen the time for action comes . . . [T]he first requirement should be that all parts [of an organization] must act."[147] The training that the children in the Scythian and Native American tribes received ensured every member could fight the enemy and also protect themselves. The FSLN changed their mobilization approach from "foco" mobilization to one of mass mobilization to ensure economy of force was maximized.[148] The FMLN followed suit in their civil war, leveraging every individual to support the cause.

Additionally, the environment of all three case studies was harsh, and required manual labor from both genders to ensure survival of individuals, the tribe, and the culture. Scythians herded animals and gathered food, while Native Americans and the rural majority of Central American guerrillas managed both herds and crops. These demanding physical activities required both strength and ability. The Scythians and Apaches had a required level of equestrian and archery skill that tribe members met to keep up with the tribe as it moved. In the tribal studies, including the Scythian, Apache, and Cherokee, children of both genders were reared with similar access to horses, weapons, and wilderness survival skills.

The Native American and Central American cultures examined here struggled with a changing lifestyle as they were forced from their ancestral land. The Native Americans were moved onto reservations and the Central Americans into refugee camps. This separation from the land and more importantly, their livelihood, resulted in

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[147] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War,* ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 213.

[148] Che Guevara.

desperation, which motivated them to fight at all costs. With their way of life disappearing and their tribes, clans, or villages threatened, their environment became more challenging. In this environment, they struggled to preserve their way of life and provide for their families.

All three cultures were frequently at war with a more established society or government. Specifically, the Scythians fought the Ancient Greeks, the Native American tribes fought the ever expanding United States. These tribes also fought each other for land and resources. Similarly, the FMLN and FSLN were fighting oppression by their respective governments. This created a politically charged environment where preparation for fighting was essential. It also created potential for the fighters to be selected based on ability and warfighting skill. The Scythians produced legendary female fighters and leaders. There were no less than three "Amazon Queens" recorded in Greek myths.[149] Native American women influenced the politics of their tribes as shamans or on councils. A woman had to fight in battle to earn certain titles and respect sometimes resulting in a leadership position of a seat on the war council. In the case of the Central American guerrilla fighters, the UN estimated 20 percent of FMLN leaders were female.[150] Whether leading or participating in the politics of their respective cultures, there existed an avenue for women to participate in the political process in all three cases. This political voice resulted in more freedom of choice, to include pursuing a warrior role.

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[149] Salmonson, 10, 15, 180.

[150] Kampwirth, *Women and Guerrilla Movements,* 2.

Apache and Cherokee women frequently controlled important family and tribal resources as they managed the food and land. They produced food and goods for the use of their family, clan, or tribe. In the Central American case study, women worked outside of the home in greater numbers, more frequently becoming the head of the household. In these instances, women had access to resources, and in most cases, control of those resources. This economic power led to more control and influence in their communities and more power in the decision-making for their families and organization.

Social similarities are found between the Scythian and Native American tribes, which were matrifocal and provided opportunities for women to contribute on par with men. This created societies which valued women and did not place them in a subordinate social status. In Central America, women overcame a subordinate social status to participate in the FMLN and FSLN. In instances where women lived at the guerrilla camps, sexism was put aside to accomplish guerrilla missions. At least during the conflict, gender bias was disregarded and a society was established where women became just another number fighting for the cause.

In each case study, hunting and warfighting was done by both genders. When singling out gender-specific skills to be successful at these pursuits, there is not any one task that only men could complete. Though it is likely that the men were physically stronger and faster, tribal hunting methods reduced the amplification of physical differences. Hunting and fighting was generally on horseback and with a bow which leveled the physical advantages of the men. In the case of the Native Americans and Central Americans, fighting skills were traditionally associated with male societal norms.

While still predominantly male pursuits in both cultures, women who were able, participated in hunting and warfighting as they proved their skills.

The confluence of the four factors examined in each case study created situations where women to participated in hunting and warfighting. Environmental factors had the largest effect on the women studied here. While economic, political, and societal factors were also critical to the way women contributed, they were outweighed by the environment in which the women were immersed. Some political and societal factors were obstructions to women's participation. In the Native American and Central American case studies, a permeable gender role existed that women could break through. The pastoral or guerrilla environment dominated over other factors which required the change in women's roles.

What insight do these case studies provide to the U.S. military integration of women into combat arms, a military not fighting for the survival of its people and not requiring all of its available resources? The answer is two-fold. First, it reinforces the idea that women were regularly utilized in warfighting throughout history effectively refuting the idea that this is a new concept. Second, these examples demonstrate that early equality in training and expectations allowed for later success. These three samples highlight certain conditions that led to the participation of women in warfighting and indicate that there is a historical precedent.

For the U.S. military, that it can be done is not the question, but rather why it should be done. With a relatively small fighting force compared to the size of the general population, there is no need for women in the military at all. Few of the factors examined here are relevant to today's argument about the integration of women into combat. In the

absence of these drivers, like a requirement to maximize able bodied fighters, it distills down to opportunity. Equal opportunity is a core American value, and is arguably the most important reason for this latest step to fully incorporate women into all aspects of the military. This ideology is captured in the Declaration of Independence, that "All men are created equal."[151] In the Constitution military members pledge to support and defend outlined the value of every individual, and ensured every Americans' equal access. The U.S. struggle against radical Islam opposes an ideology that marginalizes women. It is hypocritical to be fighting a war of ideals while not living up to these ideals ourselves.[152] Upholding the American ideal of equality is the fundamental reason DoD instituted gender integration. Liberal democratic ideals which the U.S. military represents and fights for are exemplified by a military force that provides its members equal opportunities based on ability and performance.

These openings lead to an increase in diversity, which is not constrained by being only gender specific. The instances examined here can be compared to other types of integration. There are elements of gender integration which can be compared to the racial integration of the military in 1948—which took over six years to implement—or the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell.[153] In both of these previous cases, there were strong opponents who argued that such inclusion would degrade the force. Similar arguments

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[151] Thomas Jefferson, "Declaration of Independence," National Archives, accessed 10 March 2016, http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.

[152] Dr. Terry Beckenbaugh, personal conversation with author, 7 March 2016.

[153] U.S. Department of Defense, "A Look Back at the History of Integration," July 2013, accessed 18 March 2016, http://archive.defense.gov/home/features/2013/0713_integration.

are being made now against the inclusion of women in combat arms. However, leaders can look both at these previous examples of integration, as well as how women have been integrated over time into ever expanding roles within the military to see it can be successful.

Women have been filling gender-specific jobs in the military for centuries. Nursing is one job historically done by women. But after the need for state-side pilots in World War II, female roles expanded to include flying as well. The 1960s women's liberation movement continued to influence gender equality in the military. During that time, more administrative and logistical positions opened to women. There are many small steps in the evolution of female roles in the military, mostly driven by a need for more people at each breakthrough. Women consistently demonstrated competence and ability so that they now can pursue the same careers as male counterparts. Integration of gender and military occupational specialty assignment based on ability is the next progressive move.

Predicting the future of conflict is a difficult task. In addition to the potential for inter-state warfare, acts of terrorism and low intensity conflicts have added complexity to the operating environment and require that today's military force be prepared to respond to any crisis. The integration of women into combat units will make these units more effective when dealing with asymmetrical threats. Cases from Afghanistan and the use of the Female Engagement Teams anecdotally suggest the value of having a female

presence on a target in a society where men (the traditional assault force) are limited in their ability to interact with local females.[154]

With the rescission the 1994 Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule, the challenge becomes how to properly prepare the future generation of combat arms—men and women. For women, since combat arms is new, there are few models to emulate. Historically, the only examples of female warriors that were available were fictitious characters like Wonder Woman, the popular comic character first published in 1941, at the height of World War II. Her character was an Amazon who lived apart from men since Ancient Greek times before coming to the United States to fight crime.[155]

More recently, women from Oprah Winfrey to Lockheed Martin's chief executive, Marillyn Hewson, have shown that the number of female leaders in the business community is growing. Politically, two women were in the U.S. presidential primaries this year: Hillary Clinton and Carly Fiorina. If young women would rather be inspired in fiction, there is no shortage of heroines there, as in *The Hunger Games* or *Divergent* book and movie series, the female lead characters are not waiting for a man to rescue them but fight for their own survival. But for young women, there are few military examples of what Daniel Coyle discusses in his book *The Talent Code: Greatness isn't Born, it's Grown, Here's How*, of "ignition." The concept of ignition, Coyle explains is when a person sees someone like them accomplishing a goal. The idea is that, if a person is identifiable—that she comes from a place that is recognizable, that she looks similar, and that she overcame the same obstacles, then her success can more readily be

[154] National Defense University Press, 132.

[155] Lepore, xi.

recognized and emulated by others. He explains that once Russian tennis star Elena Dementieva successfully broke into the World Tennis Association Tour's top 30 female players in 2001, many Russian women followed in her footsteps. By 2007, Russian tennis stars (like Maria Sharapova) grew to be five of the top ten players.[156]

The cultures studied here had ignition built into the very fabric of their societies. Young girls grew up watching their own female relatives participate in hunting and fighting, making these endeavors identifiable and accessible to future generations of women.

For current women in the military, these ignition moments are still relatively limited. Lieutenant Ashley White and the women who served alongside Special Operations units in Afghanistan were among the first codified female warriors.[157] Captain Kristen Griest and First Lieutenant Shaye Haver, the first female graduates of the U.S. Army's Ranger School are the most recent examples of female success. These women can serve as the ignition for the next generation. Their success is making this possibility accessible to girls who want to serve their country as combat arms personnel.

Sociologically, the ratification of Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments ensured equal support of male and female athletics programs, and has greatly expanded the number of women able to pursue athletic careers.[158] Girls and women are

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[156] Daniel Coyle, *The Talent Code: Greatness isn't Born, it's Grown, Here's How* (New York: Bantam Dell, 2009), 100.

[157] National Defense University Press, 127-133.

[158] William H. Glover, Jr., "Gender Participation Issues Related To Sports-Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972," LexisNexis, 25 March 2011, accessed 10 March 2016, https://www.lexisnexis.com/legalnewsroom/lexis-hub/b/commentary/

participating in sports in greater numbers than ever before, which increases the number of physically qualified women to attain a position in combat arms. By increasing the pool of candidates for combat arms to include this ever-expanding number of female athletes, the military has potential to grow its pool of qualified candidates exponentially.

Young women in today's American society do not have the same boundaries set on their abilities to serve their country as did the generations that came before. Today's technology-adapted, agile generation, will not settle for the status quo and tradition. DoD leaders need to be ready to lead for the future and not the past. Younger generations are less defined by strict gender roles and have witnessed generations of women who worked in and outside the home. As they are less entrenched in conservative gender roles, relationships between male and female members filling combat arms billets will be less controversial. While enacted today, it is for the next generation of female military members that these changes will be effective. By embracing diversity and opening opportunity to all members able to maintain the combat arms standards, the military is also utilizing economy of force.

The strength of an organization is dependent on each member contributing to the best of their ability. The women described above were expected to keep up with the herd, fight, hunt, or otherwise contribute to the survival of the group. Enacting the Secretary of Defense decision to integrate women into combat arms will be challenging and require thoughtful solutions. Discussions of historical examples are important as understanding of gender integration develops. Women's roles in war increased in times of crisis to

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archive/2011/03/25/gender-participation-issues-related-to-sports-title-ix-of-the-education-amendments-of-1972.aspx?Redirected=true#sthash.Vi65xeYs.dpuf.

include additional tasks, although women did not always retain their larger role when the crisis subsides. Be it female pilots in World War II, or female Native American warriors fighting to maintain tribal independence, women have fought alongside men for generations.

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